ISSN 0317-2473

Discussion Paper No. 41

ECONOMIC STATUS OF IMMIGRANT WOMEN AT AGE 30, CANADA, 1981

By

Carl F. Grindstaff *

and

Frank Trovato **

* Dept. of Sociology
Univ. of Western Ontario

** Dept. of Sociology
Univ. of Alberta

June 1985

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to examine the economic position in terms of educational, occupational and income attainment of women 30 years of age in Canada, comparing immigrants (N=37,000) to the native born population (N=160,000). Variables controlled individually in the study are marital status, period of immigration, ethnic origin and family size. The theoretical component applied to the data consists of a "marginality" and/or an "assimilation" framework.

Generally, the findings show that immigrant women who came to Canada as children (age 10 or under) are most likely to have high socioeconomic standing at age 30 while the immigrant female who entered the country as an adolescent (10-20 years of age) have the lowest levels of socioeconomic achievement. However, there are several exceptions to the overall findings and neither the "marginality" nor the "assimilation" hypotheses are supported completely. Implications of the findings are discussed.

Introduction

In the past 130 years of Canadian history, approximately 11 million immigrants have entered the country. While it is true that fertility has contributed more than 75 percent of the total population growth in Canada over that period of time, most of that childbearing was accounted for by immigrants and their descendents (Grindstaff, 1981). Few of us would be here (except for the Native people) if it were not for the fact of immigration on the part of ourselves and our ancestors. In the early part of the 20th century, over 20 percent of the total Canadian population was foreign born. While that proportion has decreased somewhat over the years, the 1981 Census of Canada showed that the foreign born still constitute 16 percent of the total population of the country. This is one of the highest rates of foreign born populations in the world--approximately double that of the United States.

Historically, the foreign born population of Canada was predominately male, due mainly to immigration policy and the availability of primarily male employment opportunities (Hawkins, 1977). For example, the sex ratios of the foreign born in 1911, 1921 and 1931 were 158, 125 and 129 respectively (Kalbach and McVey, 1979). After the Second World War however, immigration has been more equally divided between males and females such that by 1981, the foreign born sex ratio was under 100 for the first time in Canadian history.

Before 1945, the immigrant to Canada was at a relative disadvantage compared to the native born population in terms of educational, occupational and income attainment (Porter, 1965). Generally speaking, Canada was predominately rural and thus failed to provide mechanisms for widespread and rapid economic advancement. Among other societal aspects, a lack of transportation, slow to non existent communication networks and few non-agricultural

opportunities kept most people, native and immigrant alike, in traditional settings. Economic advancement was possible, but relatively limited, especially for the immigrant. For the most part, foreigners, during the early stages of Canadian modernization found themselves with more than average economic difficulties. However, with immigration policies being more selective in the postwar years, the immigrants to Canada have been more highly educated than the native born population in general contributing to relatively more favourable economic circumstances for themselves in this country (Richmond and Kalbach, 1980).

In the past decade an increasing number of scholars have been paying attention to the economic role of women in Canadian society (e.g., Wilson, 1982; Eichler, 1983), but little has been written concerning the educational, occupational and income status of immigrant women, especially for those women who are in the prime working force ages. Given that women are becoming more and more a part of the immigration and labour force pool in Canada, more needs to be known about immigrant women and their economic status. The major purpose of this paper is to describe and analyze the economic position of immigrant women in a particularly crucial age group (age 30), to a comparable sample of native born women.

Theoretical Formulation

"The Marginality Hypothesis"

The fact that North America has attracted many immigrants from varied origins during the formative stages of both Canada and the United States has led sociologists to pay particular attention to the adaptation of foreigners in society. In an early observation, Stonequist (1937) reasoned that

individuals placed between two significantly different cultures develop distinct personalities characterized by psychological insecurity and irrationality, high levels of stress and emotional difficulties. These symptoms, according to Stonequist, originate as a consequence of the individual occupying positions in both the dominant culture and the culture of his/her origin without being fully accepted by either. Thus, the marginal person is someone caught between two somewhat incompatible ways of life, and as a consequence is subject to social, economic and psychological disadvantage.

Park (1950) elaborated on the "marginal man" problem on the basis of his studies of immigrant communities in the United States. In general, during the period of time of Park's work, the typical immigrant was uneducated and came from cultural regions quite distant from mainstream American society. Marginality was seen as partly a consequence of culture, dissimilarity, discrimination and finally assimilation. According to the Chicago school of which Park was a major figure, the "forces" that lead to assimilation (e.g., socio-economic advancement, intermarriage, etc.) are all pervasive. These scholars predicted that assimilation is a natural outcome of the ethnic-race relations cycle. Marginal persons, as well as marginal ethnic groups, can only resolve their "marginal" positions by relinquishing their culture while fully integrating themselves into the host society's culture.

Empirical evidence in Canada about immigrant adjustment and adaptation may be used to evaluate the observations and predictions delineated above. Park's work focussed on the male, but this paper will examine the position of the female, particularly in terms of economic marginality (Smith, 1980). The main assumption underlying Park's argument is that first, marginality has serious negative consequences for individuals, and secondly, it is a temporary

phenomenon because all groups eventually assimilate to the dominant culture of their adoptive country.

Porter's (1965) analysis of ethnic stratification in Canada demonstrates that historically, economic inequality among both immigrant and ethnic groups has been the rule rather than the exception. In the past, economic assimilation has failed to totally materialize in Canadian society. Assimilation is a very complex social and emotional response, but we define the term here in an economic sense where access to economic opportunity is not restricted on any ascribed basis. This definition has been called a secondary structural assimilation model (Gordon, 1964). Even in the modern period, there are some scholars who argue that economic inequality based on ascription is still an inescapable feature of the Canadian mosaic (Clement, 1975; Forcese, 1980; Goldstein and Bienvenue, 1982). To the extent that economic position is still determined by sociocultural background, and this interrelationship is associated with a marinality phenomenon, one would expect that immigrant persons in Canada experience "marginal" effects.

In connection with socioeconomic achievement, this hypothesis predicts that immigrants who move to Canada at critical stages in their life cycles are likely to experience varying propensities for marginality and hence varying changes of economic success. For example, it is known that a person's acquisition and internalization of culture are largely determined and completed by early adolescence (Erikson, 1964). If a person migrates to a different cultural setting at the conclusion of this formative period, the possibility of marginality is enhanced due to the relatively crystalized and ingrained norms and values of the country of origin, and the effect of new patterns of behaviour upon the personality, aspirations and motivations. When

the culture of origin is significantly different compared to the culture of destination, full accomodation is very difficult. This difficulty emanates from two basic sources: the person's problems in extricating herself from the background and socialization experienced in the country of origin, plus the possibility of the dominant society's negative response to an individual who visibly displays characteristics and personality patterns that are not consistent with the normative standards and expectations (Handlin, 1959; Richmond and Kalbach, 1980; Aronowitz, 1984).

People in this situation may well be prime candidates for marginality. They have arrived in Canada at a relatively young age (as adolescents); they are likely to assimilate many of the norms and values of the new society without being regarded by that new system as a full fledged member of the culture. On the other hand, the ethnic or immigrant sub-community, may not view such an individual as a complete member of their collective because they in turn oppose the marginal person's seeming rejection of the dominant values specific to the immigrant subculture for the ways of the larger society. In an extensive review of the literature of the social and emotional adjustment of immigrant children, Aronowitz (1984) argues that disorders are no more prevalent among immigrant children in comparison to native born youngsters. When problems are manifested, he indicates that they often were "resulting from the disruption and conflict of cultural values and practices" (p. 251). However, none of the literature cited provided any age classifications between what has been termed young children (age 0-10) and adolescents.

The social psychological consequences of marginal people have been documented and are well known (Stonequist, 1937; Goldberg, 1941; Green, 1947; Park, 1950; Shibutani and Kwan, 1965; Starr, 1977). However, it is not at all

certain how marginality in the context of the modern immigrant experience relates to socioeconomic attainment. More importantly for the purposes of this paper, there is no systematic study of the immigrant women's marginality and socioeconomic experience. If in the current scenario marginality is indeed related to negative social psychological and personality dimensions, the economic performance of such people is likely to suffer as well.

In this paper, it is hypothesized that women who migrated to Canada during adolescence as opposed to females who came to this country during their childhood years, will demonstrate lower levels of economic success. The women who migrated as adults would likely be less "marginal" in comparison to the adolescent migrant but not as acculturated as the child migrant. Women who migrated as adults would be totally socialized into the cultural norms and values of their place of origin, and at least initially, not have conflicting norms and values to adjudicate in relation to the Canadian scene. These adult women would probably not have cognitive or emotional dissonance around their systems of culture in comparison to Canada. In this context, we would expect an intermediate economic status for the most recent migrants.

"The Assimilation Hypothesis"

A complimentary thesis is the assimilation explanation of immigrant women's status attainment in terms of economic factors. This hypothesis suggests that the longer immigrants reside in the host country, the higher the level of their adaptation, adjustment and acculaturation to the new society. Therefore, young girls (age 10 or under) who came to Canada with their parents and have resided in this country ever since, until the age of 30, ought to demonstrate very little if any economic status distance from the indigenous

females. Similarly, women who moved to Canada as adolescents (between the ages of 10 and 20) are expected to show an intermediate distance from the native born women, while females who immigrated recently as adults (between ages 20 and 30), will experience the greatest dissimilarity with respect to the native born women. However, the selective aspects of immigration with respect to adults and economic background may influence the findings related to the women who came to Canada as adults, particularly if they are independent applicants who must conform to a point system that is primarily economic in nature.

The two hypotheses developed above are ideal-typical in the sense that they capture a general phenomenon. In actuality, the ideal-type character of the explanations may be flawed by the fact that adult women may be independent applicants coming to the country on their own merits and thus selected for immigration on the basis of their economic position. Adult women who came as part of a humanitarian situation or who came in a family or sponsored category would not be required to meet the same economic criteria for entry. These data are not available from the census and the immigration statistics do not provide information on age, by sex, by type of entry. This difficulty in sorting out the type of immigrant further complicates the adult female hypotheses. However, in 1981, for women aged 20-29 (19,000 immigrants), about 40 percent were unmarried, and most likely independent applicants. Current immigration policy (over the past generation) has served to admit highly educated and professionally qualified immigrants, especially those who come to the country without dependence or sponsorship. Because of this fact, the most recent adults--those who migrated since 1970--may actually fare better socio-economically than anticipated by the arguments inherent in the hypotheses.

In general, the "marginality" hypothesis predicts that at age 30: (1) migrant women who came as adolescents age 0-10 would be most successful in long-term economic outcome; (2) migrant women who came as adolescents age 10-20 would be least successful; (3) migrant women who came as adults age 20-30 would have an intermediate economic success. The "assimilation" hypothesis predicts that the longer the period of time the immigrant is in the society, the better the economic situation, controlling for age. Thus, the immigrant women at 30 years of age who came to Canada as a child 0-10 would be most advantaged while those women who migrated as adults age 20-30 would suffer the most disadvantage, with the adolescent migrant intermediate between the other two in relation to economic position.

The Data

Statistics Canada provided a special tabulation for all women in Canada in 1981 30 years of age (N=approximately 200,000) with information concerning place of birth, period of immigration, ethnicity, children ever born, marital status, completed education, occupation and individual income. The data were tabulated in aggregate form, and due to cost limitations, no multivariate statistical analyses were possible. However, the cross tabular information provides an excellent starting point for analysis.

Women at exactly age 30 were chosen as the focus of the study for several reasons. Economically, a woman at this age is most likely to have settled into an occupational and income pattern that is not likely to change for her in future years (Goyder, 1981). Also, this age seems to be in the middle of an age grouping for women (25-35) where promotion and job security are

critical issues, as well as the status of full or part time work (Thurow, 1981; Grindstaff, 1984). In relation to childbearing, in Canada in the 1970s, most women (over 80%) had completed their fertility by age 30. In addition, about 80 percent of all children born were to women under the age of 30. Thus in terms of childbearing and economic position, women age 30 would seem to be at an important juncture for future life cycle patterns.

The variables provided by the census of 1981 are arranged in such a way as to maximize the numbers and to distinguish between what has generally been viewed as a positive versus a negative economic outcome. Place of birth is categorized as foreign versus native born while ethnicity is formulated as English, French, and "Other." Marital status is divided into single, never married women and all ever married women. The three economic variables, education, occupation and income, are analyzed primarily in terms of the proportion of women who have achieved relatively high standing on these factors. That is, the emphasis is on women who have had some university training or who have completed university, or who have an income of $10,000 or more, or who are in a "professional" occupation (managerial, science, teaching, medicine or health).

The period of immigration variable is broken down into three roughly 10 year segments: Before 1961; 1961-1971; and 1972-1981. In this framework, the immigrant women 30 years of age in Canada in 1981 would have arrived in this country as children (age 0-10), as adolescents (age 10-20), or as young adults (age 20-30). It is hypothesized that the immigrant females who came as children age 0-10 would be comparable in terms of economic attainment with the native born females at age 30. The female who arrived in Canada as an adolescent in the 1960's might be marginal in terms of belonging to both her origin

and destination cultures, and perhaps having various types of conflicts between them. In this context, those females might have difficulty in achieving the type of credentials in order to obtain high levels of economic status. Most of the immigrant women age 30 in 1981 who came to Canada in the decade of the 1970's had to meet rather stringent immigration criteria (Hawkins, 1977) provided they were independent applicants, and thus it is expected that these females would fare relatively well in the economic world.

Findings

Tables 1-6 provide the data under examination in this paper. When considering only the division of women age 30 into native or foreign born, the achievement of advanced economic levels is highest for the foreign born women in terms of educational attainment, and to a lesser degree, levels of income. Concerning occupation however, they are less likely to hold a professional-type position (see Tables 4 and 5). This finding applies generally to both single and ever married women. However, it is the focus of this paper to examine the relationship of economic outcome for immigrant women controlling for the period of time when they arrived in Canada.

All Ever Married Women 30 Years of Age

Table 1 shows the data on education, occupation and income controlling for the period of immigration for all ever married women 30 years of age who are currently in families. Of 173,000 cases, immigrant women account for about 19 percent of the total (33,000). What is readily apparent is the lack of total consistency of achievement across the various economic factors. For

Table 1: All Ever Married Women, in Families, 30 Years of Age, by Immigration Status and Level of Education, Occupation and Individual Income, Canada, 1981.

	PERCENT DISTRIBUTION				
			Immigrants		
Economic Factors	Total N=172,875	Non Immigrants 140,025(81.0%)	Before 1961 8,370(4.84%)	1961-71 9,125(5.28%)	1972-81 15,355(8.88%)
Education					
University	14.52	13.69	17.74	8.77	23.67
Some Univ	3.78	3.39	6.45	4.93	5.28
Other	81.70	82.92	75.81	86.30	71.05
Income					
$10,000 +	31.51	31.07	38.95	33.53	30.31
Under $10,000	68.48	68.93	61.05	66.47	69.69
Occupation	N=100,600(58.2%)	80,180(57.3%)	5,260(62.8%)	5,705(62.5%)	9,450(61.5%)
Professional	31.40	33.24	31.65	17.88	23.76
Other	68.60	66.76	68.35	82.12	76.24

Source: Special Tabulation from Statistics Canada from the 1981 Census.

example, the women who migrated to Canada as adults have nearly twice the proportion of women with university training compared to non immigrant women (29 percent to 17 percent), but they in turn are 30 percent less likely to be in a professional job while the income levels of both groups of women are about the same. Overall, the immigrant women are somewhat more likely to be in the working labour force (62 percent to 57 percent). From their educational attainments, it would appear that the female ever married migrants who came to this country as adults are the best trained of all women, but they are not able to translate that high level of education into comparable income and occupation advantage. It may be that a large part of the educational attainment was obtained abroad and the women have credentialling problems in the Canadian situation. Also, it may be that these women have not yet had the time to find a position commensurate with their training in that all of them have been in Canada less than 10 years, and many of them only a few years (Richmond and Kalbach, 1980; Halli, 1984). However, after age 30, occupational changes may be difficult to make. There is the additional possibility that these women, although well trained, may find discrimination in the job and income markets of Canada in that about 75 percent come from countries outside of the English-French sphere, and overall, about one-third of all immigrants into Canada in the 1970's originated from countries that are usually termed "third world areas" (Grindstaff, 1981).

The smallest proportion of immigrant females with a university degree (nine percent) and a professional position (18 percent) are those who came to Canada as adolescents. It is clear that the relative lack of education results in fewer professional jobs, although the proportion with incomes at the $10,000 or higher bracket are on a par with the non immigrant women.

These immigrant women came to Canada in the 1960's while in their formative adolescent years. While culminating in the 1970's, the immigration laws had been relaxed somewhat during this period and people came from more varied cultural regions. It may be that many of these young girls were caught in language and cultural differences between their homes and Canadian society in general, which may have hindered their educational motivation and aspiration. This "marginal" status may be responsible for the comparative disadvantage in education and occupation. Also, these young girls may have been required to forgo training and obtain employment in order to assist their families economically in their new country of residence.

The ever married females who are systematically well placed in the economic structure are those who came to Canada as children. In comparison to non immigrants, they are 50 percent more likely to have been to university, 25 percent more likely to earn at least $10,000 per year, and are equally as well placed in the job market. These women entered Canada in the 1950's and they were generally from English or Western European families. In this situation, it is likely they would have easily adjusted to the Canadian experience, and of having the added incentive of in effect being first generation Canadians with strong family pressures to do well in the new homeland.

In the three economic comparisons across the four groups of women, the non immigrant women rank first in the proportion having a professional career (33 percent); the immigrant women who came to Canada as adults have the highest percentage with a university degree (24 percent); while the child migrant is at the highest earnings plateau (39 percent at $10,000 or more). At the other end of the spectrum, the migrant female who entered Canada as an adolescent is quite disadvantaged in terms of educational and occupational attain-

ment (9 and 18 percent with university and professional positions respectively), while the lowest proportion earning $10,000 is seen among the non-immigrant women and the adult migrants (31 and 30 percent). Even though there are some discrepancies, the greatest economic disadvantage seems to be experienced by the immigrant females who came to Canada as adolescents while the best economic circumstance is enjoyed by the women who made Canada their home while they were still children.

Single Women 30 Years of Age

Independent of immigration status, the magnitude of economic achievement is about twice as high for single women compared to ever married females at age 30. About 30 percent of the never married women have completed a university degree, 64 percent have incomes of $10,000 or higher and over 40 percent are in professional occupations. Also, more than 85 percent of all of the single women are in the working labour force. Among the single women, the comparative economic data are quite similar to that discussed in the previous section for the various immigration statuses (see Table 2). Overall, there is a remarkable similarity in the economic situation for immigrant compared to non immigrant women who have never been married. Only when controlling for period of immigration do some significant variations appear within the never married group of women. However, it is important to notice that all categories of single women do much better economically than their married counterparts.

The migrants currently single who came to Canada as children are the most affluent of all women in terms of economic attainment. They have the highest

Table 2: All Never Married (Single) Women 30 Years of Age, by Immigration Status and Level of Education, Occupation and Individual Income, Canada, 1981.

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION

Economic Factors	Total N= 23,750	Non Immigrants 19,545(82.29)	Immigrants Before 1961 1,280(5.39)	Immigrants 1961-71 960(4.04)	Immigrants 1972-81 1,970(8.29)
Education					
University	29.87	29.34	38.28	26.04	31.47
Some Univ	5.26	5.27	6.25	6.25	4.06
Other	64.86	65.39	55.47	67.71	64.47
Income					
$10,000 +	64.32	64.88	71.76	67.71	52.30
Under $10,000	35.68	35.12	28.63	32.27	47.70
Occupation	N=20,875(87.9%)	17,020(87.1%)	1,175(91.8%)	915(95.3%)	1,760(89.3%)
Professional	42.01	43.57	45.96	33.88	28.41
Other	57.99	56.43	54.04	66.12	71.59

Source: Special Tabulation from Statistics Canada from the 1981 Census.

levels of schooling, income and occupation, and in this way they are similar to their married counterparts. This category of immigrant has achieved the highest levels of economic achievement. The migrants who arrived in Canada as adolescents have the lowest proportion of women 30 years of age with a university degree (26 percent), but the migrant women who entered the country during the 1970's have the lowest occupational and income levels. This again generally matches the findings from the previous section and the explanations for the scenario would be similar. It may be that the recent migrants, who have high proportion of their group with university degrees, have educational credentialling problems and in addition, may not have had enough time to find the type of position that would pay an income commenserate with their educational training. The immigrant single women are all more likely to be in the labour force in comparison to the non-immigrant females, with 95 percent of the "adolescent" migrants working in 1981.

Table 3 is a summary of the findings from the previous tabulations and at the same time it provides an evaluation of the hypotheses formulated earlier. The explication of the marginality thesis calls for the women who migrated as adolescents to fare less well socioeconomically than those who came into the country as children or as adult women. The assimilation hypothesis posits on the other hand that the distance between the status levels of the three immigrant groups increases with recency of immigration.

The table contains two sections, (A) and (B). The former examines the differences in the percent distributions along the three socioeconomic

Table 3: Analyses of Immigrant - Non Immigrant Percentage Point Differences in Socio-economic Status Attainment for All Ever Married Women and for Single Never Married Women, 30 Years of Age, Canada, 1981.

Immigrant Percentage Point Distance from Non Immigrant

(A.) Percent Differences: Single Women

	Period of Immigration		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Status Dimension	(Before 1961)	(1961-71)	(1972-81)
University Education	- 8.94	+ 3.30	- 2.13
Income $10,000+	- 6.88	- 2.87	+12.58
Professional Occupation	- 2.39	+ 9.69	+15.16

(B.) Percent Differences: Ever Married Women

	Period of Immigration		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	(Before 1961)	(1961-71)	(1972-81)
University Education	- 4.05	+ 4.92	- 9.98
Income $10,000+	- 7.88	- 2.46	+ .76
Professional Occupation	+ 1.59	+15.36	+ 9.48

Notes:

(1) Represents Childhood Immigrants; (2) Represents Adolescent Immigrants; (3) Represents Adult Immigrants

A Negative Sign (-) means that the Foreign Born Women Have an Economic Advantage; A Positive Sign Means that these Women Have an Economic Disadvantage.

criteria for single women using non immigrants as the comparison group while the (B) section presents data for ever married women using the same approach. Concerning section (A), the most consistent feature is that the single women who came to Canada as children surpass all others including the indigenous group in educational, income and occupational attainment. This finding fits reasonably well into the general theoretical models, but from the point of view of assimilation, it is somewhat surprising because the expectation was for this group to demonstrate very little if any difference from the native born women. In fact, the educational and income differentials are quite substantial. The marginality hypothesis can only be supported fully in connection with university education; the 1961-71 immigrants have the lowest attainment levels as predicted. However, in the income and occupation comparisons, their position is somewhat better than the most recent immigrants, and in the case of income, the women who migrated to Canada as adolescents surpass the native born women as well. Thus, in the case of single, never married women, the evidence does not seem to provide complete support for either assimilation or marginality explanations.

The data on ever married women (Table 3, section (B)) lends some support to the marginality effect, but no conclusive support for an assimilation explanation. Overall, the women currently 30 years of age who came to Canada as children perform best, particularly in relation to university education and income although professionally they are slightly below the proportion for the native born women. The pattern of effects among the adolescent immigrants lends support to the marginality explanation with regard to university education and professional occupation attainment, but not in connection with income. As has been discussed previously, the situation pertaining to the

1972-81 immigrants is peculiar because they possess distinct advantages in terms of educational attainment, but they have a clear disadvantage in earnings and occupational position.

Generally, there is some support for both theses but total agreement with neither. Given the kinds of patterns and differences observed, the total utility of the marginality and assimilation hypotheses for explaining the socioeconomic position of immigrant women in Canada can be questioned, although the marginality thesis seems to provide a better fit, especially for the ever married women who represent about 90 percent of the total number of women. At this point, it is possible to speculate on alternative explanations, particularly in connection with the superior performance of the childhood immigrants and the less favourable economic attainment of the adolescent and adult immigrants. However, before this is undertaken, it may be beneficial to examine other tabulations which may serve to shed some light on the causal mechanisms responsible for the observations above.

Ethnicity

The distribution of ever married women age 30 by ethnic group parallels the changing composition of the total Canadian population. For native born women (N=140,000), 43 percent are of British ancestry, 34 percent French (the two "founding" peoples of Canada), and 23 percent from "other" ethnic backgrounds. The ethnic origins of the immigrant women on the other hand are much different, with 74 percent being other than of English or French background, with only three percent from a French ancestry. Thus, the immigrant women in Canada in the past generation has originated from a much different cultural

Table 4: All Ever Married Women, in Families, 30 Years of Age, by Immigration Status and Ethnicity, by Level of Education, Occupation and Individual Income, Canada, 1981.

	PERCENT DISTRIBUTION							
		Non-Immigrant				Immigrant		
Economic Factors	Total	British	French	Other	Total	British	French	Other
N =	140,025	60,550 (43.24%)	46,980 (33.55%)	32,495 (23.21%)	32,950	7,665 (23.33%)	970 (2.96%)	24,215 (73.71%)
Education								
University	13.69	14.80	9.34	17.91	18.04	14.74	20.62	19.00
Other	86.31	85.20	90.66	82.09	81.96	85.26	79.38	81.00
Income								
$10,000 +	31.07	32.12	28.44	32.93	33.41	33.27	29.38	33.62
Under $10,000	68.93	67.88	71.56	67.07	66.59	66.73	70.62	66.38
Occupation N =	80,180 (57.3%)	35,560 (58.7%	25,090 (53.4%)	19,530 (60.1%)	20,420 (62.2%)	4,620 (60.3%)	590 (60.8%)	15,210 (62.8%)
Professional	33.24	33.51	30.59	36.18	24.14	28.57	28.81	22.58
Other	66.76	66.49	69.41	63.82	75.86	71.43	71.19	77.42

Source: Special Tabulation from Statistics Canada from the 1981 Census.

setting than the people who already make up the Canadian population. Currently, Canada is undergoing an ethnic diversity in its population composition hitherto unknown in its modern history. In addition, about 50 percent of the recent immigrants enter the country only if they meet certain economic standards, and thus the majority of the foreign born population might fit into the Canadian economic structure in a relatively smooth way.

Tables 4 and 5 assess the possibility that ethnic origin may have relevance in accounting for the socioeconomic variations observed earlier. For ever married women (Table 4), the ethnic differences between persons of immigrant and non immigrant origins are generally minimal with respect to university education and income attainment of $10,000 or more, with the exception that French immigrants are significantly more educated than their native born counterparts,[1] although the number of French origin immigrants is very small. Occupationally, however, British, French and Other native born women are consistently more likely to hold professional jobs in comparison to their immigrant counterparts. Thus, it would seem that if ethnicity is of importance in determining economic status, it is mostly of relevance in the occupational sphere.

The overall relationship for single women, both native born and immigrant, is much the same as developed above for the ever married women, except the single from all of the ethnic and immigrant categories have substantially higher levels of achievement on all of the economic variables. In comparison to ever married women, single females are proportionately twice as likely to

[1]The women of French ethnic origin are generally disadvantaged economically, and this perhaps relates to an economic differential between Quebec and the rest of Canada. We are currently writing a paper concerning this issue.

Table 5: Never Married (Single) Women 30 Years of Age by Immigration Status and Ethnicity by Level of Education, Occupation and Individual Income, Canada, 1981.

	PERCENT DISTRIBUTION							
		Non-Immigrant			Immigrant			
Economic Factors	Total	British	French	Other	Total	British	French	Other
N =	19,545	7,860 (40.21%)	6,960 (35.61%)	4,725 (24.18%)	4,250	1,090 (25.92%)	115 (2.74%)	3,000 (71.34%)
Education								
University	29.35	33.40	22.25	33.02	32.46	26.61	39.13	34.33
Other	70.65	66.60	77.75	66.98	67.54	73.39	60.87	65.67
Income								
$10,000 +	64.88	68.13	60.13	66.46	61.64	67.43	60.87	60.50
Under $10,000	35.12	31.87	39.87	33.54	38.36	33.57	39.13	39.50
Occupation								
N =	17,020 (87.1%)	7,015 (89.3%	5,800 (83.3%)	4,205 (89.0%)	3.855 (91.6%)	1,030 (94.5%)	100 (87.0%)	2,725 (90.8%)
Professional	43.60	47.33	37.76	45.18	35.15	36.89	35.00	34.50
Other	56.40	52.67	62.16	54.82	64.85	63.11	65.00	65.50

Source: Special Tabulation from Statistics Canada from the 1981 Census.

have completed university degrees and to have incomes of $10,000 or higher, and they are about 30 percent more likely to be in professional occupations (See Tables 4 and 5). Among the single women, the immigrants have the highest educational attainment, but the lowest percentage in professional jobs. Among the non immigrant single women, those of British ethnic background are in the most affluent situations while the French women are at the lowest levels.

Among never married females (Table 5), immigrants from Britain are less likely to have university education than British persons born in Canada, while among the French, and less so among "other" origins, the immigrants have more university representation than their corresponding native born members. The situation for income attainment suggests that there is very little difference among British and French groups on the basis of nativity, but native born women from other than these ethnic origins are generally more likely to earn higher incomes than immigrants from other than English or French origins. Occupationally, all three immigrant groups are disadvantaged in comparison to their indigenous members. The widest gap in the chances of being in a professional job arises among the "other" group, both for married and single women. Thus, in a general way, it may be claimed that ethnicity and nativity interact to some extent in determining educational achievement, less so in connection with income, but to a considerable extent with regard to occupational status.

For the single and married women at age 30, the immigrant females have larger proportions with university degrees (especially the "other" ethnic category) but the lowest percentage with professional jobs (again, the "other" ethnic group is dominant). Among the native born women, those with "other" and British ancestry are similarly placed in the economic arena, while the French Canadian females are clearly disadvantaged.

Number of Children Ever Born

Table 6 assesses the impact of number of children ever born in accounting for status differentials among ever married women, the three immigrant classes and also between groups as well. Undoubtedly, children pose financial burdens on all family households in varying degrees, and the number of children a woman bears is related to her socioeconomic status achievement (Sweet, 1970; 1973; Balakrishnan, et al, 1979; Eichler, 1983).

This study has shown that there are some clear differences in economic circumstances for women age 30 when place of birth, period of immigration and ethnic status are taken into account. However, Table 6 shows that for ever married women at this age, the number of children in the family is probably the major predictor of economic outcome for women, controlling for place of birth and period of immigration. In a general comparison, as has been seen previously, the ever married immigrant women have somewhat larger percentages with a university degree but they are, as a collective, slightly less accomplished in occupational and income attainment than the non-immigrant. When the number of children in the family are controlled, that overall finding remains.

In terms of the children ever born information, the immigrants who came to Canada as adolescents have the largest family sizes while the other two immigrant groups are smaller and quite similar. The immigrant ever married women at age 30 who came to Canada in the 1960's as a teenager is about 40 percent less likely to be childless and 50 percent more likely to have three or more children ever born than the other migrant women. The women who are

Table 6: All Ever Married Women 30 Years of Age by Immigration Status and Number of Children Ever Born, by Level of Education, Occupation and Individual Income, Canada, 1981.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN

	Total Women N=179,840[1]					Non-Immigrant 145,640					Immigrant Before 1961 8,760				
	0	1	2	3	4+	0	1	2	3	4+	0	1	2	3	4+
N =	32,015	41,080	71,980	26,435	8,335	25,885	32,275	58,630	21,985	6,870	1,830	2,095	3,495	990	360
% =	17.8	22.9	40.0	14.7	4.6	17.8	22.2	40.3	15.1	4.7	20.9	23.9	39.9	11.3	4.1
Economic Factors															
Education															
University	28.13	19.38	10.70	6.13	4.62	26.75	18.23	10.05	6.12	4.08	33.84	20.76	12.88	9.09	4.17
Some University	4.76	4.52	3.48	3.10	2.76	4.48	3.83	3.16	2.84	2.62	5.46	8.43	6.29	4.55	5.56
Other	67.09	76.12	85.82	90.77	92.50	68.77	77.96	86.79	91.06	93.23	60.66	70.41	80.83	85.86	90.28
Income															
$10,000 +	64.52	42.30	22.49	13.94	10.14	65.31	42.03	22.00	13.46	9.68	73.70	53.83	24.93	16.75	15.28
Under $10,000	35.48	57.70	77.51	86.06	89.86	34.69	57.97	78.00	86.54	90.32	26.30	46.17	75.07	83.25	84.72
Occupation N =	27,710	27,365	38,055	10,855	2,810	22,465	21,255	30,450	8,750	2,260	1,655	1,500	1,980	415	140
N = 106,780															
Professional	41.36	33.78	26.88	22.25	15.84	42.29	35.85	28.92	24.36	16.81	43.50	34.33	24.47	16.87	17.86
Other	58.64	66.22	73.12	77.75	84.16	57.71	64.15	71.08	75.66	83.19	56.50	65.67	75.53	83.13	82.14

	Immigrant 1961-1971 9,475					Immigrant 1972-1981 15,965				
	0	1	2	3	4+	0	1	2	3	4+
	1,290	1,915	4,140	1,675	455	3,010	4,800	5,715	1,785	660
	13.6	20.2	43.7	17.7	4.8	18.9	30.1	35.8	11.2	4.1
Economic Factors										
Education										
University	23.26	13.84	6.40	1.79	3.30	38.54	28.75	19.07	8.40	11.36
Some University	8.53	7.31	3.38	5.07	5.49	5.48	6.15	5.25	3.92	1.52
Other	68.60	78.85	90.22	93.13	91.21	56.15	65.10	56.15	87.68	85.61
Income										
$10,000 +	67.44	48.04	27.66	16.67	11.00	50.83	36.87	22.22	15.41	12.98
Under $10,000	32.56	51.96	72.34	83.33	89.00	49.17	63.13	77.78	84.59	87.02
Occupation N =	1,110	1,450	2,530	775	130	2,475	3,155	3,175	910	280
N = 106,780										
Professional	32.88	21.72	13.04	12.26	11.54	34.75	25.20	19.84	13.19	10.71
Other	67.12	78.28	86.96	87.74	88.46	65.25	74.80	80.16	86.81	89.29

[1]There are approximately 7,000 women in Canada 30 years of age who have been in family situations in the past but who are no longer living in a familial setting.
Source: Special Tabulation from Statistics Canada from the 1981 Census.

native born fall in between the migrant groups in relationship to the number of children ever born.

Within all of the immigrant and native born groups of women, a major factor in economic outcome appears to be the number of children. For every comparison, the larger the family size, the lower the proportion of women with educational, occupational and income achievement. The childless ever married women are substantially the same as single women in an economic comparison. When examining the relationship of family size and economic solvency, the women who came to Canada as children in the 1950's provide a fairly typical pattern of the association.

When there is only one child or less ever born to these women, over 25 percent have completed university degrees, more than 60 percent earn $10,000 or more annually, and nearly 40 percent are employed in professional occupations. At the other extreme, where there are three or more children ever born, about six percent have completed university training, 16 percent are at the high level of income and 17 percent have career type jobs. All of these figures are substantially below the patterns observed for women with fewer children. Table 6 shows clearly the negative correlation between the number of children born and economic outcome, and the following data derived from the table emphasize the association.

	Non-Immigrant		Immigrant Before 1961	
	0-1 Child	3 or more children	0-1 Child	3 or more children
% Univ Degree	22	6	25	6
% $10,000	54	13	60	16
% Professional	39	22	39	17

The relationship is strong and generally linear for all of the women under consideration. As has been developed, the period of immigration into Canada does matter for economic outcome of women at 30 years of age and different periods of immigration in terms of the age of the migrant is associated with differences in economic patterns and position. However, the number of children ever born to those women appears to be a more critical variable in an analysis of economic differentiation.

Summary and Discussion

The purpose of this paper is to examine the economic position of women 30 years of age in Canada, comparing immigrants (N=37,000) to the native born population (N=160,000) controlling for marital status, period of immigration, ethnic origin and number of children ever born. Generally, while the differences are relatively small, ever married immigrant women have higher levels of educational achievement as measured by the percent completing university (18% to 14%) and an income attainment of $10,000 or more per year (33% to 32%), but they are less well placed in the occupational structure as professionals (24% to 33%) in comparison to the native born women. For single women, the levels of economic achievement are much higher for all of the women, and the immi-

grants have slight advantages in the three economic outcomes. For some of the later immigrants, immigration selection procedures are undoubtedly associated with the economic situation.

When the period of immigration is controlled, the single women who came to Canada as children (at age 10 or under) are the best placed in the economic structure of all of the women in the study, native or foreign born. The ever married women age 30 who entered the country as children are also relatively well off economically compared to other ever married women, migrant or native born. These women entered Canada in the 1950's and they were generally from English or Western European families. In this situation, it is likely they would have easily adjusted to the Canadian experience, and of having the added incentive of in effect being first generation Canadians with strong family pressures to do well in the new homeland.

Thus, a hypothesis which should be evaluated in a subsequent study is that the younger the age at immigration to Canada, the greater the socialization for achievement is experienced as parents and family are likely to have immigrated to Canada not only for their general social and economic improvement, but also to provide a "better future" for the children. A related hypothesis is that adolescent and older immigrants do not experience the same family pressures for achievement because, being older, they must often participate in the general familial process of economic improvement for the total household. This might often restrict the extent to which such people can stay in school and go on to higher levels of the educational system --a factor which is seen as critical for both occupational and income attainment.

The ever married migrant women who moved to Canada as an adult (20-30 years of age) in the 1970's, have the highest percentage of university comple-

tion, but they are the least likely to earn $10,000 or more and they are toward the lower end of the occupational structure. It may be that a large part of the educational attainment was obtained abroad and the women have credentialling problems in the Canadian situation. Also, it may be that these women have not yet had the time to find a position commensurate with their training in that all of them have been in Canada less than 10 years, and many of them only a few years. There is the additional possibility that these women, although well trained, may find discrimination in the job and income markets of Canada in that about 75 percent come from countries outside of the English/French sphere.

The smallest proportion of immigrant females with a university degree (nine percent) and in a professional position (18 percent) are those ever married females 30 years of age who came to Canada as adolescents. They came in the 1960's when immigration controls by country of origin had been relaxed somewhat and migrants came from more varied cultural climates. It may be that many of these young girls were caught in language and cultural differences between their homes and Canadian society in general which may have hindered their educational motivation and aspiration. Also, these young girls may have been required to assist their families economically and thus forced to truncate their educational experience at a relatively early stage.

Ethnicity also has some impact on the economic outcome for the ever married and single women, both immigrant and non immigrant. Generally, for the native born, the British ethnic group does best among single women, and the "other" ethnic category ranks highest for the ever married females. Among the immigrants, the "other" ethnic women (75 percent of the total) are best educated and earn the highest incomes, but their occupational achievement is

relatively low. Again, this may relate somewhat to credentialling and time in the country problems.

A major factor in accounting for economic variations both within and between the native born and immigrant groups is the number of children ever born. Independent of immigration status, the larger the number of children in the family, the lower the level of economic achievement for the women. Fertility reduces the probability of being involved in non maternal, economic roles, and the higher the fertility, the less achievement in those economic circumstances (Balakrishnan et al, 1979). This finding applies to the three immigrant groups and to the native born women in generally the same degree of association. While the immigration variable has an influence on the economic achievement of ever married women at age 30, the level of fertility is an overriding factor.

Future study is needed to assess the independent impact of all the variables included in this elaboration type of analysis. Unfortunately, the data collection did not allow for a multivariate analysis to separate the relevance of each factor simultaneously. In any case, this research demonstrates that period of immigration, ethnicity, marital status and fertility may all have important causal impacts on the socioeconomic status attainment of immigrant women. Another possibility for further work in this area of study would be to compare immigrant men and women with respect to status attainment. Lastly, there is need to continue to formulate systematic explanatory framework for the phenomenon of interest. Our attempt to apply the marginality and assimilation theses proved to be of some utility, but the findings were not totally consistent.

REFERENCES

Aronowitz, M.

1984 "The Social and Emotional Adjustment of Immigrant Children: A Review of the Literature," International Migration Review, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, Summer 1984, pp. 237-257.

Balakrishnan, T.R., G. E. Ebanks and C.F. Grindstaff

1979 Patterns of Fertility in Canada. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Clement, W.

1975 The Canadian Corporate Elite. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Eichler, M.

1983 Families in Canada Today. Toronto: Gage.

Erikson, E.

1964 Insight and Responsibility. New York: W. W. Norton and Co.

Forcese, D.

1980 The Canadian Class Structure. Toronto: McGraw Hill.

Goldberg, M.M.

1941 "A Qualification of the Marginal Man Theory," American Sociological Review, 4: 52-85.

Goldstein, J.E. and R.M. Bienvenue

1980 Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Canada. Toronto: Butterworths.

Gordon, M.

1964 Assimilation in American Life, New York: Oxford University Press.

Goyder, J.

1981 "Income Differences Between the Sexes: Findings from a National Canadian Survey," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 18: 321-328.

Green, A.W.

1947 "A Reexamination of the Marginal Man Concept," Social Forces, 26: 167-171.

Grindstaff, C.F.

1981 Population and Society: A Sociological Perspective. West Hanover, Massachusetts: Christopher Publishing House.

Grindstaff, C.F.

1984 "Catching Up: The Fertility of Women Over 30 Years of Age, Canada in the 1970s and Early 1980s," Canadian Studies in Population, 11: 2.

Halli, S.S.

1984 Asian Ethnic Fertility in Canada: An Application of the Minority Status Hypothesis. PhD Dissertation, The University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario.

Handlin, O.

1959 Immigration as a Factor in American History. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Hawkins, F.

1977 "Canadian Immigration: A New Law and a New Approach to Management," International Migration Review, 12: 77-94.

Kalback, W.E. and W. McVey

1979 The Demography Bases of Canadian Society. Toronto: McGraw Hill.

Park, R.E.

1950 Race and Culture. Glencoe: The Free Press.

Porter, J.

1965 The Vertical Mosaic. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press.

Richmond, A.H. and W.E. Kalbach

1980 Factors in the Adjustment of Immigrants and Their Descendants. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Shibutani, T. and K.M. Kwan

1965 Ethnic Stratification: A Comparative Approach. New York: MacMillan.

Smith, M. E.

1980 "The Portuguese Female Immigrant: The 'Marginal Man'," International Migration Review, Vol. XIV, No. 2, Spring, 1980, pp. 77-92.

Starr, P.D.

1977 "Marginality, Role Conflict and Status Inconsistency as Forms of Stressful Interaction," Human Relations, 30: 949-961.

Stonequist, E.V.

1937 The Marginal Man. New York, Scribners.

Sweet, J.

1970 "Family Composition and the Labor Force Activity of American Wives," Demography, 7: 195-209.

Sweet, J.

1973 Women in the Labor Force. New York, Academic Press.

Thurow, L.

1981 "Why Women are Paid Less than Men," New York Times (Business Section), March 8.

Wilson, S.J.

1982 Women, The Family and the Economy. Toronto: McGraw-Hill.

DISCUSSION PAPER SERIES

NO.

28. Marital Instability in Alberta: Variations in the Incidence of Separation and Divorce by Community Type and Size
    Wayne McVey, Jr. and Barrie W. Robinson. March 1982.

29. The Length of Working Life in Pakistan
    P. Krishnan. April 1982.

30. Lotka Distribution for a Finite Mixture of Human Populations I
    P. Krishnan and N.M. Lalu. September 1982.

31. Population Growth and Stability in Alberta Hinterland Boom-Towns
    John W. Gartrell and Harvey Krahn. November 1982.

*32. Housing Change and Perceived Housing Quality in a Northern Alberta Boom-Town
    John W. Gartrell and Harvey Krahn. February 1983.

*33. Rapid Growth and Social Disruption: Health and Well-Being in Ten Communities
    John W. Gartrell. July 1983.

34. Socioeconomic Development, Medical Care and Nutrition as Determinants of Infant Mortality in Less Developed Countries
    J. Jayachandran and George K. Jarvis, November 1983.

35. Interrelation Between Fertility and Non-Economic Characteristics in India: Results from a Log-Linear Model
    P. Krishnan. April 1984.

36. Life Tables by Causes of Death, Canada 1975-1977
    V. Cheung, R. Kapoor, E. Ng, N. Lalu, and P. Krishnan. August 1984.

37. Determinants of Fertility in Two Canadian Populations: A Causal Modeling Approach.
    J. Jayachandran. December 1984.

38. Mortality Differences Among the Indigenous Populations of French and British Origin, and the Aboriginal Population of Canada, 1950-52 to 1970-72.
    Frank Trovato. February 1985.

39. The Relationship Between Migration and the Provincial Divorce Rate in Canada, 1971 and 1978: A Reassessment.
    Frank Trovato. February 1985.

40. Interprovincial Migration and Suicide in Canada, 1971 - 1978.
    Frank Trovato. May 1985.

* Out of Print